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Life of Rev. J.F.C. Heyer,
M.D.

LIFE

OF

REV. J. F. C. HEYER, M. D.

BY

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NOTE.

A Life of Father Heyer needs no apology; excuse ought rather be offered for not having one before this. But his great predecessor in India, C. F. Schwartz, waited even longer for a biographer; it was thirty-five years after his death before his life was published by Dr. Pearson in 1833. The present life was undertaken by the Father Heyer Missionary Society, of Mt. Airy Seminary, in 1896, at the suggestion of Dr. Jacobs. A committee of six was appointed in that year to gather materials for a life. The following year a new committee was appointed with the writer as chairman; the work was distributed among the members, note-books procured and materials gathered. In the spring of 1898 the writer left the seminary, but was retained on the committee. Since then he has continued the work alone, using the materials already in hand and gathering others. In 1900 the society authorized him to publish a life such as he could prepare.

Sources for the life were not wanting, but they are so scattered that it has been impossible to consult and use them as they deserve; my note-books contain many references to articles which have at the time when most needed been out of reach. The following list gives the chief sources:

- Autobiographical sketches in the "Lutherische Zeitschrift," 1865, '67 and '68.
- An Introduction to the History of the Lutheran Mission among the Telugus; also in the "Zeitschrift," 1869.
- MS. Autobiography, covering early life, in possession of Rev. Wischan, Philadelphia, who used it in preparing the sketch in his Life of Groening.
- MS. History of Am. Lutheran Missions in India, now in the Archives at Mt. Airy. Described by Dr. Jacobs in the Lutheran Review, Jan., 1900, pp. 50-62.
- MS. Letters, etc., in Mt. Airy and Gettysburg.
- Contemporary Church Papers, especially the Lutheran Observer and the Lutherische Zeitschrift.

- A number of letters from various men, especially one from the Rev. Dr. Schmidt, of Rajahmundry, India, in which he gives reminiscences of Father Heyer. Also one from the pastor of the Stephanus-Kirche in Helmstedt, transcribing the entrances upon the Church records referring to Father Heyer. Rev. J. P. Hentz furnished a copy of several papers and extensive reminiscences. All these papers will be placed into the hands of the Father Heyer Missionary Society. Special thanks are due Rev. Hentz, who has taken active interest in this matter.
- A number of sketches have already been published, in Rev. Wischan's *Leben Groenings*, Dr. Jacobs' *Church History*, Rev. Traibert's *Missions among the Telugus*, Rev. L. B. Wolf's *After Fifty Years*, Rev. P. A. Laury's *Lutheran Missions*; also a sketch by Rev. J. A. Scheffer in the *Church Messenger*, 1892, and one by Rev. Dr. Wackernagel in the *Lutheran Cyclopaedia*. While not ignoring these sketches, the writer has aimed as far as possible to give facts from the sources; if he has gone too far and given more than was absolutely necessary, it was with the purpose that he might furnish materials from which others might draw their own conclusions. In a few instances he has found it necessary to assume an apologetic tone, because he believed justice demanded it. In all cases he has endeavored to be just and accurate, and has only regretted that he has not been able to clear up all points to his own satisfaction.

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THE LIFE OF FATHER HEYER.

CHAPTER I.

Johann Friedrich Christian Heyer, for such is the full name of him who is more familiarly known as Father Heyer, was born in Helmstedt,* in the duchy of Brunswick, Germany, July 10, 1793. His parents were Johann Gottlieb Heyer, burgher and master-furrier in Helmstedt, and Frederike Sophie Johanne Wagener Heyer. Of them little is known beyond the fact that they were married in the large St. Stephen's Church in Helmstedt on May 27, 1788, had six children, four sons and two daughters, of whom Father Heyer was the third child and the second son. They were "pious persons, who brought up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

The eldest son, Carl Heinrich Auton, was born in 1791, and like his father became burgher and master-furrier in Helmstedt. According to the church records he was married on November 23, 1815, and had four children, for two of whom Father Heyer is recorded as sponsor. Carl seems to have come to Philadelphia soon after 1834. His son, Frederick, studied law in Philadelphia, having graduated from the High School in 1850. He was admitted to the bar in 1855, and died in 1871 or '72. Father Heyer mentions only one other brother, so that it is probable that one died early. The younger brother, Heinrich, was born in 1796. After having been a dull boy, he became a bright student, and a Rationalist, but returned to orthodoxy, and was for at least forty years

* "Helmstedt is an ancient town of ungainly appearance, yet it is distinguished for the republican spirit and the kind hospitality of its inhabitants towards the stranger. . . . Helmstedt is well known as having been the birth-place of Helmuth and Storck, two fathers of our Lutheran Zion in America."—*Lutheran Observer*, October 5, 1833.

Lutheran pastor in Gross-Posserin, Mecklenburg. The mother died September 22, 1815, the father January 11, 1832. At present the family no longer exists in Helmstedt, and distant relatives only remember that Father Heyer existed, and more than thirty years ago visited his old home.

Of the first fourteen years of the future missionary's life we know little. His birth occurred in troubled times. The American Revolution had ended, but the French Revolution had begun. The former had established the principle of political liberty, and had largely been fought in the name of Christianity; the latter aimed to establish religious license upon the ruins of all existing order. Exactly four months after Heyer's birth the Christian religion was decreed abolished in France (Nov. 10, 1793). On the day following William Carey, the "consecrated cobbler," landed at Calcutta to establish that religion among the Heathen. This may suffice to indicate the confusion, the uncertainty in which all things were involved, especially matters religious. How far the citizens of Helmstedt felt the movements about them, and to what extent they were affected we cannot tell. The learned circles had long since been influenced by the "Aufklärung." Lessing had published his Wolfenbüttele Fragments only a short distance from Helmstedt. But in the University orthodoxy was still defended, especially by Joh. Benedict Carpzov (1720-1803), and we have no reason to believe that the pastors were other than orthodox.

The childhood of Father Heyer seems not to have been in any way remarkable. He was bright and active, began to attend school at the early age of three years, and made rapid progress in his studies. In the winter of 1804-'05 he narrowly escaped drowning, breaking through the ice. He calls his companions dare-devils, and we may infer that the same term might have been applied to him. A certain daring and love of adventure marks his entire career. The only other incident of his boyhood known to us is that in the spring of 1807, when Helmstedt was occupied by the French, he, a boy of less than fourteen years, was called upon to act as interpreter between the soldiers and the citizens. In the summer of the same

year occurred the first great event of his life, when at the request of his uncle, a furrier in Philadelphia, he was sent to America.

We are not told what inducements the uncle in Philadelphia held out to bring the boy of fourteen to the New World, nor what circumstances made the parents willing to part from him. It is barely possible that the closing of the University in Helmstedt may have had some connection with the matter, affecting no doubt the father's business. When, after he had been confirmed, the time arrived for him to leave home, the German harbors were blocked. His father took him to the Danish harbor Friedrichstadt, and put him in charge of Captain Williams, of the American sailing vessel "Pittsburg." After eight weeks on the ocean he landed at Philadelphia sometime in August, 1807. His uncle paid the price of the passage (\$140), put the boy in a select school, and afterwards set him to making hats, at which he became so expert that he could finish eighteen hats in a week, twice as many as the ordinary workman could finish.

His uncle seldom went to church, and bothered little whether the boy went or not. But Heyer loved singing, and in the old German Lutheran Zion's Church, at the corner of Fourth and Cherry streets, there was good singing. He attended frequently, and in 1809 was deeply touched by a sermon by the pastor, Dr. Helmuth. He became a teacher in the Sunday school, and a member of the Mosheim Society.* Perhaps Dr. Helmuth took a personal interest in the young man who came from his native city. But Heyer was par-

*The Mosheim Society was founded July 24, 1804, by some young Germans in Philadelphia, partly for religious purposes and partly to exercise themselves in the German language. In order to become better acquainted with religious truths and to make themselves more familiar with the better modern German literature, this society founded German Sunday schools. From year to year the number of members increased so rapidly, that six years after its establishment it was publicly incorporated by the state. At its meetings each Saturday in the room given for this purpose by the German Lutheran congregation, after the roll call and reading of the minutes of the last meeting, the society examined the religious questions proposed at its last meeting. Each member read the Bible verses supporting his views, and all were for this purpose provided with Bibles and writing materials. Cf. Brauns' "Practische Belehrung," page 422f., whose book is characterized as an "infamous production" (Lutheran Observer, September 14, 1833), but doubtless gives a fair account of the Mosheim Society.

ticularly pleased with the sermons of Pastor J. Becker. Soon there grew in him a longing to study Theology, and an opportunity was given him to share the instructions given to two students by Dr. Helmuth and Dr. F. D. Schaeffer; for it was customary in those days for some pastors to tutor students, as there were no Lutheran theological seminaries. In June, 1813, sufficient progress had been made to permit of Heyer's being appointed to preach the afternoon sermon in the large Zion's Church. But we have his own account, which we can follow through a large portion of his life adding such notes as may be of interest and value.

After I had studied theology for some time in Philadelphia under the supervision of the Rev. Drs. Helmuth and Schaeffer, I was directed in June, 1813, to preach the afternoon sermon in the large Zion's Church. A bold undertaking for one who had little experience, was weak in knowledge, and not yet twenty years old. It would have been proper for me to answer with Moses: "Lord, send another, for I am young and inexperienced." Or it would also have been well if some one had advised me: "Tarry at Jericho until your beard be grown, and then return." But the sermon was announced, and the congregation was not to be disappointed. I had written a sermon on Matth. 6:6: "But thou when thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut the door, pray to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly."* Of the possibility of breaking down in my delivery I had not thought or I would not have left the written sermon at home, but taken it along to the pulpit for use in case of necessity. But in this case also the word was confirmed: "The Lord is mighty in the weak." The sermon made a good impression; after more than fifty years I to-day still thank God for it.

In connection with my theological studies in 1814, I also taught the parochial school in the southern part of the city, which had been founded by Pastor Van Hoff some years be-

*Some in the audience remarked: "The young preacher looked like one who had just prayed to his Father in secret."

fore.* Frequently the young schoolmaster also had to preach for the church members in that part of the city on Sunday evenings; and thus with studying, teaching and preaching I was very busy. In the daily conversation with the children in the school I learned many things that were of great use to me in my later pastoral work. It would be well if all young preachers had an opportunity to teach school some time before they take charge of congregations.

CHAPTER II.

On December 24, 1814, a treaty of peace between England and the United States was signed in London; and toward the end of January, 1815, the glad news was announced in Philadelphia. New life and activity in equipping vessels for commerce with foreign nations were displayed. The desire to see my parents once more began to grow within me, and in March I was already on the voyage to Hamburg on the ship Washington, Captain Ward. It was also my intention to continue my studies at the University of Halle. Dr. Helmuth had given me a letter of introduction to Dr. Knapp who had studied with him at Halle fifty years before, and whom he had for a time tutored privately in Hebrew. The wind from the West being strong our voyage away from the States was rapid. In three weeks we had almost crossed the Atlantic, when, on a Sunday morning at daybreak, we were awakened and frightened by a cannon shot. In a few minutes all the men were on deck, and, behold, we were near a man-of-war, which signaled to us to take in sail and wait. The captain knew as little as the rest of us what this meant. Some even thought it might be a pirate from Algiers or Tunis, who had ventured beyond the Straits of Gibraltar to carry on his piracy with greater success. But we did not long remain in uncertainty. An officer of the man-of-war came on board, and brought the

*The school was founded in Southwark, Philadelphia, at the direction of the congregation in 1806. Heyer succeeded Mr. Walz on September 15, 1813.

startling news that Napoleon had escaped from the Island of Elba, and for this reason vessels were stopped in order, if possible, to recapture this disturber of the peace. But he was not to be found among us; in less than half an hour our ship sailed on. But after two or three days we were again stopped, and now we were told the almost incredible news that Napoleon had driven the King of France from Paris, and was on the borders of France with a large army, preparing to defend himself against the attacks of the Austrians and Prussians. When we arrived at Hamburg we found everything in great agitation; all Europe was full of war and rumors of war. These occurrences made a deeper impression upon me than many others for the following reasons: during the voyage I had read Stilling's* "Siegesgeschichte," or exposition of the Revelation of St. John. According to Stilling's reckoning Antichrist was to appear in 1816. The verse Rev.. 9:11, according to my view, was now being fulfilled: "And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon." In my heated imagination I added: in Italian it may be Napoleon. That there would now be disturbed and frightful times in Europe—of this I had not the slightest doubt. The fear that in the interior of the country I would be compelled to fight in the war induced me to resolve to return to Philadelphia at the first opportunity. In a letter written on board the ship Washington, I told my parents that I had arrived in Hamburg well and safe; at the same time I requested that some one of my relatives come to visit me before I started on my return voyage.

During the time of the war with England my correspondence with friends in Germany had to cease; my parents had received no news from me for three years. So much greater was their joy when my letters from Hamburg arrived. The

*Johann Heinrich Jung, a very popular writer at that time, whose life was translated and published by E. L. Hazellius in 1831. The reckoning giving 1816 as the date of the end of the world or the appearance of anti-Christ, is based upon Bengel's chronology. An American edition was published at Reading in 1814. J. G. Schmucker's Revelation (1817 and 1821) is based upon Stilling to some extent, but uses a different chronology.

date read: "Ship Washington, May, 1815." This my dear folks could not understand at first; they thought that I had moved to Washington from Philadelphia. But when they read further, and found that I had safely made my second voyage and had arrived in Hamburg in good health, they could not refrain from tears of joyful surprise. Now they also said: "It is enough; our son is yet alive: he must come that we may see him before we die." It was immediately decided that my oldest brother, Carl, should go to Hamburg and bring me home. The next day he was already seated in the coach; on the third day after that some one knocked at the door of my room and told me that a strange gentleman was below, and wished to see me. It was my brother whom I had seen in a dream the night before. After a separation of eight years we had the joy of seeing each other again. My worry concerning the military service was removed by my brother's promise to be my substitute in case the government insisted that I must serve. After I had attended to my passport we rode away at the first opportunity through Lüneburg and Braunschweig to Helmstedt, happy and contented. At three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the paternal home, and found everything in excitement. This was caused by the fact that the day before a regiment of Prussian troops had been quartered with the citizens, and was now to be ready for the march before sunrise. In the same room where I had taken leave eight years before, now occurred the joyful meeting with my parents. When the first greetings were over, the door of the room again opened, and a youth of nineteen hurried toward me and embraced me affectionately. But I did not know him, and when I asked: Who is this? they said: Do you not know your brother Heinrich? When I had seen him last he was only eleven years old; but now he had already studied at Göttingen for almost two years. When we were children, studying went hard with him, so that our dear mother said at times: "What will ever become of my dull Heinrich?" I answered: "One of us three must remain the most ignorant, and it may be Heinrich just as well as Carl or Fritz." From his twelfth year Heinrich made rapid progress in learning, so

that my parents considered it advisable to let him study; and now the most ignorant had become the most learned.

Some days after my arrival in Helmstedt I was requested to preach for Dr. Bollmann in the large St. Stephen's Church. This church was built long before the Reformation, and is about 200 feet long and proportionately wide. Here I was baptised in 1793, and here I was confirmed in 1807,—and now I was to stand in the pulpit where Calixt, Mosheim, Carpzov and other Lutheran Church Fathers had preached the gospel. The desire of the people to hear the young preacher just arrived from America was so great that almost 2000 persons attended the service. In that rationalistic period this was something unusual, and for many years the church had not been so full.

My intention to study in Halle I could not fulfill, because all of the students had marched against the Fatherland's enemy as a regiment of volunteers under the command of Blücher, and the lectures of the professors had therefore to cease. Under these circumstances I could readily decide to accompany my brother to Göttingen. The journey was made on foot. This was the custom of the students, because it was good for the health, and because wagons were not easily met with on the side streets. The number of students at Göttingen was given as 1100. In a printed catalogue the names of 72 professors were given; also the subjects on which each professor intended to lecture. After I was matriculated by Consistorialrath Plank, I reported to the professors whose lectures I intended to attend. Exegesis on the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark and Luke I heard under Pott; on St. John under Plank, Jr.; history of doctrines under Plank, Sr.; ethics under Stäudlin; catechetics under Trefurt, etc.

The students are under little or no supervision. Almost like the young mechanics, who, after they have passed through their apprenticeships, are free as journeymen to choose where and for whom they will work, the young scholars, after they have passed through the preparatory schools decide for themselves what professors and how many lectures they will hear. The diligent students have the best opportunity to gather for

themselves treasures of wisdom. But among the great number of students there are many dissolute fellows who squander time and money and leave the university almost as ignorant as when they arrived. Germany has comparatively more institutions of learning than other countries; every German kingdom or principality has high schools and one or more universities. In order to keep these institutions in a flourishing condition, each government makes it its business to find and appoint the ablest and best qualified men as professors. Hence it is that, as may be said, the learned in Germany find a better market than in other countries, and that the Germans excel other nations in learning.

On June 18, 1815, the report reached Göttingen that Blücher had been defeated in the battle at Ligny; this gave rise to much anxiety among the inhabitants. On the same day preparations were made to organize the students as a regiment of volunteers, and to send them to the front under Wellington as soon as possible. Under these circumstances I could not have escaped; for here no substitutes were taken, and I would have had to march involuntarily with the volunteers. But fortunately the report of victory flew through the entire country as on the wings of the wind: "Wellington and Blücher have defeated Napoleon at Waterloo. The ex-Emperor has fled and his army is retreating toward Paris in great disorder." If the dejection two days before was great, the rejoicing now rose so much higher in consequence. In the evening a torch parade was arranged, and there was jubilation in one of the pleasure gardens near Göttingen until late at night. The park was somewhat lit up by pitch torches, but also filled with an almost unbearable smoke. The young heroes (students) sang and screamed and drank and hit upon the tables and benches with their rapiers and swords, as if they wanted to hew into a thousand pieces the tyrant, who, for a time, had ruled Europe with a rod of iron. To me, as I looked on from some distance, the whole seemed like a scene from the underworld such as I do not desire to see again.

When I left Philadelphia some friends remarked: "We fear that your faith will suffer shipwreck among the learned

neologues (Rationalists) in Germany, and then you will no longer be able to be of service to our church in America." To this I answered: "If my faith suffers shipwreck, my preaching must also suffer shipwreck; for if the Bible does not reveal to us the will of God concerning our salvation, the ministry also has no meaning." In Göttingen I now had to stand the test, and, thanks to God, I came through unharmed. In the exegetical studies especially Rationalism tried its skill in explaining away miracles. But in most cases this was done in such a wonderful and daring manner that it produced the opposite effect on me; instead of being led astray I was much more confirmed in my faith. My brother with whom I roomed was a Rationalist, but no scoffer. He even granted that a preacher with a supra-naturalistic views could fulfill his office with more cheerful confidence than the neologues. "But," said he, "I do not have your convictions and I cannot and will not be a hypocrite." Through my brother I became acquainted with Pastor Thilo, who was stationed as a country preacher not far from Göttingen, and was one of the few who still preached repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. Here I experienced that the grace of God produces closer communion of souls than natural family relationship. There was a soul-sympathy between Thilo and myself such as did not at that time exist between myself and my brother. But some years later I had the pleasure of reading in a letter from this brother the confession: "I have now begun that reading of the Bible in which one throws the voluminous commentaries into a corner, and turns to the fountain of light." And the Lord heard his prayer; he was rescued from the power of darkness. For at least forty years he has been stationed as Orthodox Lutheran preacher in Gross-Poserin, Grossherzogthum Mecklenburg.

During the fall of 1815 we went to Helmstedt to spend several weeks with our nearest relatives. In those days our good pious mother ended her pilgrimage, being 57 years of age. A short time before her parting, she said: "The dear Lord has heard my prayer; after long separation we have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing each other again, and now the

Lord lets me depart in peace." The spirit of a pious mother rests rich in blessing upon children and children's children.

My second journey to Göttingen I had to make alone, for my brother had finished his studies. During the winter I had a room-mate from Braunschweig, a son of Pastor Witting, who spoke English fluently; in our conversations we generally used the English language. In accordance with the old German proverb, "Morgenstund hat Gold im Mund," it was customary among the students at Göttingen to begin early and to study diligently in the forenoon. An hour before daybreak the room was warmed and the lamps were lit. In this way most of the streets were lit up, and it was light enough so that one could readily find his way without a lantern—a convenience for those who attended lectures from 6 to 7. Still it is also probable that for many of the young men the lights were lit in vain. Instead of getting up, the Proverb 6: 10 may have been appropriate: "Yes, sleep a little longer, slumber yet a little; fold the hands a little that you may sleep." (German Version.)

During the spring vacation of 1816 my oldest brother accompanied me to the Leipzig fair. Our way took us through Halle, and I made use of this opportunity to pay my respects to the Rev. Dr. Knapp. It was a great pleasure to the aged scholar to hear from the friend of his youth, Dr. Helmuth, in America. We also viewed the buildings of the Francke Institution; but as my traveling companions were in a hurry I had not time to satisfy my curiosity. In Leipzig we tarried several days. Among other things I visited the battlefield of October 16 and 18, 1813, where the allied armies won that brilliant and ever-memorable victory at Leipzig, and so severely defeated Napoleon that he began his retreat in such haste that the street from Leipzig to Mayence was covered with corpses of pack-animals and men, forsaken wagons and cannon, and he did not stop until the Rhine separated him from his enemies. In the same place where Napoleon was defeated in 1813, Gustav Adolph gained a victory over the imperial army under Gen. Tilly, September 7, 1631; and eleven years later, October 23, 1642, Forstenson defeated the

Austrians at Breitenfeld, an hour from Leipzig. Over the main entrance to a large stone church a cannon ball was built into the wall, with the inscription: "During the great battle on the 16th and 18th of October, 1813, the Lord preserved this house." The damaged houses in the city still showed in which streets the fighting had been fiercest during the retreat. On the bank of the Elster where the Polish Prince Poniatowsky lost his life, a monument has been erected.

At the Leipzig fair I for the first time saw merchants in Oriental dress; but it did not enter my thoughts that I would sometime live for years where this is the most comfortable and the generally prevailing dress.

In the late summer of 1816 I again took leave of father and brothers to start on my second voyage to America. In leaving the university no examination is held. The professors when requested give the students written certificates, stating that they attended their lectures. But most students go away without asking for such certificates, because, before the regents where they must afterwards undergo a rigid examination, their receiving situations depends not on their certificates, but on their knowledge.

CHAPTER III.

In 1817 the Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent states met at York. With three other applicants I applied for admission into this reverend Synod. The examining committee consisted of Pastors C. Jaeger, of Lehigh county, Moeller of Chambersburg, and Ernst of Lebanon. The examiners dealt very kindly with the young candidates.

The leading or most influential members of the Synod at that time were: Ch. Endress, G. Lochmann, J. G. Schmucker, H. Muhlenberg, C. Jaeger, etc. The fathers of the earlier time were either already entered upon the joy of the Lord, or could no longer attend because of the weakness of age. The preachers just mentioned were all educated in Pennsylvania, and had mostly studied theology under the guidance and supervision of Dr. J. H. Helmuth. Endress was thorough in his sermons, Lochmann had popular gifts as a preacher, Schmucker preached from the heart and edifyingly. A synodical sermon on 2 Cor. 5: 14: "For the love of Christ constraineth us," made a deep impression. The divisions were: I. Into the ministry, II. Constraining us to remain in the ministry, III. To show faithfulness and diligence in the ministry. Among the preachers, however, according to my view, H. Muhlenberg was the best pulpit orator, earnest and impressive. A sermon on Gen. 19: 17-22: "Haste thee and save thy soul," will remain in my memory forever.

At the Synod in York I also became acquainted with the Rev. Father Stauch.* He was one of the first Lutheran preachers in Ohio, and worked hard in the new settlements of that state, but also accomplished much good. Father Stauch had a priestly appearance; I thought of the words, John 1: 41: "Behold an Isarelite indeed, in whom there is no guile." In spite of his age he had made the journey from Lisbon, Ohio,

*An autobiography of this earnest worker, brief but full of interest, is among the MSS. of the Historical Library at Gettysburg.

to York on horseback; but it was the last time that he crossed the Alleghenies to visit friends in the East and attend the Synod of Pennsylvania. He rests from his labors a long time now, as also do the other preachers mentioned above. He was faithful in little, and, I doubt not, he has been set over much.

About this time a transition period had begun in the Synod as also in the congregations. Many of the fathers of the earlier times had made efforts to hinder the use of the English language in worship. Their opinion was that the introduction of the English language would adulterate the purity of the Lutheran doctrine. When we think how our Church has fared since then, it almost seems that his opinion was not altogether without foundation. Yet, thanks to God, the danger is now past, we hope, and we now see that pure Lutheranism is not bound to any one language. In this direction we owe much to our English Church paper (The Lutheran).

Gottes Wort und Luther's Lehr
Vergehet nun und nimmer mehr.

In 1817 or soon thereafter English preaching was already held in several Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, as e. g. in Lancaster, Harrisburg, Easton, Carlisle, York, etc. In the Synod itself the two languages were finally set upon an equal footing.

At the time of my reception into the Ministerium the Lutheran preachers in the United States numbered about 120; now (1866) they number at least 1500—a large increase in less than fifty years. As the introduction of English had been opposed in many congregations, so efforts were now made to prevent the formation of new Synods, because it was thought that one large Synod was better for the general welfare of the Church than many small Synods. Concentration is by all means desirable; but it finally became evident that the poor preachers who lived at a great distance could not be expected to travel several hundred miles each year to attend the synodical meetings. As early as 1814 the preachers in Ohio and some western counties of Pennsylvania formed a Conference

District, and in 1817 a Synod was organized in that district. Not long after the Maryland, West Pennsylvania and other Synods were formed, and so it went on until we number more than forty Lutheran Synods in the United States. Thus from one extreme to the other; formerly the number of Synods was too small, now we have more than necessary.

In reference to the education of young men for the ministry a change was also effected in our Church about this time. Formerly several of the older and more gifted preachers instructed one or more young men, and educated them for the ministry as well as circumstances permitted.* But now the establishment of Theological Seminaries was begun. Hartwig Seminary in New York was the first Lutheran school of the prophets in this country; in Gettysburg, Springfield, etc., similar institutions were founded, until it is with the seminaries as with the Synods—we have almost too many.

At York I was appointed traveling preacher to visit the northwestern districts of Pennsylvania, and especially to preach in Crawford and Erie counties. The appointment was for three months, the salary was fixed at \$100; what the preacher could not collect was paid from the Synodical treasury. Our missionary work to-day is not what it should be; but at that time it was even more imperfect. After I had already started on my journey I was told by one of our preachers that Mr. Heine had resigned in Lehigh county, and no one had yet applied to be his successor; at the same time he advised me to try to get the place. I visited Mr. Heine, and was kindly received by him. He did what he could to bring the people to favor me. In the course of the week Bro. Trumbauer also came to Lehigh county to take charge of the vacant congregations. We preached our trial sermons, and the Church councils met to decide which of us should receive the place. But they could not agree; two of the congregations wanted to have Bro. Trumbauer, and two voted for me. Under these circumstances we both went away, Bro. Trumbauer to Lan-

*How much depended upon circumstances is shown by the MSS. diary of a student whose teacher was almost daily hindered from teaching by pastoral duties.

caster county, and I to Meadville and Erie. But, alas! in the wealthy congregations there was strife and dissension for years. In the Lehigh congregation (Macungie) the following reasons were given, why the people were opposed to me: They had learned that I had recently arrived from Germany; but they wanted no German preacher. Secondly, instead of announcing my text immediately after the pulpit prayer, I had a brief exordium, and read the text after that. To this the people were not accustomed; they thought the young preacher had forgotten his text until he was almost in the middle of his sermon. Finally, as the Göttingen students in accordance with ancient Germanic custom wore their hair long and parted in the middle, I had also retained this fashion. At this the people took offence. What trifling circumstances can give our lives a different course! Since that time I have always advised vacant congregations to invite only one preacher, and then to decide whether they wish him or not.

From the Lehigh congregation I continued my journey, and went through Orwigsburg toward Sunbury. The region where the large town of Pottsville now is, was at that time a wilderness, the home of snakes and vermin; but through human industry this wilderness has become a park. In Sunbury I was very hospitably entertained by Pastor Schindel. After I had rested for a day, Pastor Schindel accompanied me the next morning to the river where the ferry was, paid my fare, and wished me success and blessing on my first missionary journey. In the evening I stopped with Father Ilgen, who lived in Center county. Farther toward the Northwest no Lutheran preacher lived at that time; I therefore now found myself on the borders of Lutheranism in this direction. Father Ilgen appeared to me like Nathanael, without guile. Before we went to bed, evening-service was held, and I was requested to offer the evening prayer. When Pastor Ilgen moved into this district no doctor was to be found near or far; for this reason he had medicines sent him from Halle, prepared in the Francke Institutions. In case of sickness, the neighbors called upon the pastor, so that by and by he had much to do as doctor. But during the War of 1812-15 he could not order

medicines from Halle, and his doctoring ended. About this time occurred the following incident which Pastor Ilgen himself related to me: One Sunday morning after he had preached in a filial congregation he visited a sick lady, who was very glad to see her pastor. "Oh," she said, "if I get medicine from you, I will surely get well." Mr. Ilgen told the lady that his medicines were all used, etc. But the woman was not satisfied; she insisted that he hunt, perhaps something might be left after all. During this conversation Father Ilgen stood by the bedside, with one hand in his coat pocket, and he found some bread crumbs; he thought: it can do her no harm, pressed the crumbs and rolled them with his fingers and gave them to the woman as pills. She soon after grew well again, and her recovery was ascribed to the pills, which consisted of flour and water.

After I left Pastor Ilgen it was not long before I entered the primeval forests of Pennsylvania. One day I had to ride thirty miles before I came to a house; this was on a new road then recently laid out by the state, and only lately opened in Clearfield county. In the evening I reached a hut built of round logs, where three bachelor brothers had put up their home removed from the world. But it soon appeared that singing and praying was not their main occupation. Like Nimrod, they were mighty hunters before the Lord. All travellers passing that way had to stay with these hunters or spend the night under the open sky in the pine forest. When I arrived, late in the evening, five travellers had already arrived, eaten their supper, and left not even a piece of bread. Of venison there was no lack, and there was also a little flour in the barrel. Several handfuls of this were made into a dough and laid on the coals, so that the outside was burnt, but the dough remained unbaked inside; these men's old potatoes were eaten up long ago, and the new crop had not yet grown. I had thus to still my hunger as best I could with venison; but it did me no harm, I slept well on it, and in the morning was ready to continue my journey. Among those spending the night there one who was lying beside me on the straw bed had killed a man some days before, and sought to hide himself in this lonely region. His name was Monk, and about three months later

he was hanged at Bellefonte. (This I heard on my return trip in 1818.)

One evening on my way through Venango county I had to stop with English people who observed the Christian custom of reading, singing, and praying together. They were glad to see a preacher in their midst, and asked me to conduct the family worship. Read and speak English I could well enough, but I had never yet learned to pray in this language, and did not know that there is a great difference between the ordinary language of the people and the language of worship. The Lord's Prayer I knew by heart, else I would have broken down completely. I had almost the same experience as the well-known preacher John Newton, who broke down in his first sermon, and the second time when he attempted to read his sermon fared not much better; for he was very near-sighted. For a long time he would not venture to mount the pulpit again. I was very much discouraged and thought to myself: this first unsuccessful attempt to pray in English shall also be my last. But man proposes and God disposes; some months later I had to attempt even to preach English.

At the time when I was on my first missionary journey (1817), there was no longer any danger to fear from hostile Indians in Pennsylvania. This I well knew. Still I was not quite comfortable when I altogether unexpectedly met a number of these inhabitants of the forest near the Alleghany river. The sun was setting when I reached the eastern side of the river; for a distance of twenty miles I had not met a house during the afternoon. On the opposite bank stood a hut, in which lived the ferryman. I called as loudly as I could, but received no answer. At some distance up stream I heard people in the bushes, but of them also none paid any attention to my cries, and it almost seemed that rider and horse must camp uncared-for under the open sky. Finally in the dusk of evening I saw a boat moving, which to my astonishment was rowed by two Indians. They did not rightly know how to handle the shallow ferry, and as we could make ourselves understood to each other only by signs, it took longer than usual to get the horse safely on board. When we were on the point of pushing off from

land a white man arrived in a boat, sprang into the ferry, and with dreadful curses drove the Indians away. A part of the tribe known as the Corn-planters had been in the neighborhood for several weeks hunting and fishing. For various reasons this did not seem right to the old Irishman, and he thought they now also wanted to deprive him of the ferry money; this was why he was so angry. The next morning I was glad to leave the old curser and toper as well as the neighborhood of the Indians. On this day I reached Crawford county, where near the road I saw one of those old block-houses which served the early settlers as places of refuge or forts during hostile attacks by the Indians. The building was of fair size, but had only one door and no windows at all, either below or above. The upper story was larger than the lower, extending ten feet on each side. This extension enabled the men within to shoot down upon the Indians who might come near to set fire to the house, or even to pour water upon a fire already kindled. Such a building probably no longer exists in Pennsylvania.

The first Lutheran family I met in Crawford county lived on Sugar Creek, four or five miles south of Meadville. They had not heard a German sermon in a long time, and requested me to announce services to be held in the court house on the following Sunday. From these people I learned the following information concerning the affairs of our Church in that region. A rogue named Muckenhaupt had at first come among the settlers as a preacher, but he could not stay very long; he went away leaving his wife and children uncared for. It was still said of this vagabond that he could preach more powerfully, drink more, and curse more loudly than any one else within a hundred miles. The first regularly called Lutheran preacher in the district was Pastor Colson. His parish consisted of four small congregations; namely, in Meadville, on Connaught Lake, on French Creek, and in Erie county. His salary was \$400. The travelling expenses of his family from Northampton county to Meadville, and the expense of moving his household effects were to be paid by the congregations. Two teams

with four horses each were sent; the expense reckoned on was about \$80. But the journey proved very slow. The teamsters were delayed by rain, impassable roads, and high water, and when settlement was made the congregations had to pay instead of \$80, more than \$300. This caused dissatisfaction among the members. Pastor Colson did what he could to tend the flock entrusted to him. The spirit was willing, but his bodily strength was unequal to the task of serving a parish extending forty miles. Before a year was past the death of their pastor again left the congregations vacant.

Under these circumstances those church members who at other times were most zealous became disheartened, and no attempt was made to call another pastor. My arrival was altogether unexpected; they rejoiced, but did not know at first whether they could support a preacher. But after I had preached in the congregations new life and new zeal were manifested. Before my time as travelling preacher had expired they requested me to remain, and the four congregations unanimately called me as their pastor. In the Erie congregation I preached in a school-house; the congregation on French Creek built a small frame Church; in Meadville we held our meetings in the court-house, and on Connaught Lake John Braun had the largest house at that time: we were kindly welcomed by him, not only for Sunday services, but in winter also for holding a school in his house.

Among the attendants at French Creek there were several families entirely unacquainted with the German language. They had formerly lived in a place where they could attend Church regularly, as they had been accustomed to do from their youth. These people so urgently and persistently requested me to preach to them in English for their instruction and edification, that I finally had to consent and make the attempt. This apparently slight circumstance I now regard as one of the important turning points of my life; for my future work must necessarily have taken an altogether different course if I had not been able to preach in both languages.

Of the many errorists who since that time have spread over almost the entire country nothing was then known in

Crawford and Erie counties. The young people gladly attended instructions. In the spring of 1818 thirty-five catechumens renewed their baptismal vows; all of them had memorized the five parts of the Catechism, and were thoroughly acquainted with the order of salvation. In the meantime the temporal affairs of the congregations were not neglected. In order to enable them to buy forty acres of land with house and barn, the following plan was adopted: The women of the four congregations formed a society; each member obligated herself to contribute monthly the value of one pound of butter. The usual price of butter was twelve cents a pound. Since there were at least a hundred women in the congregations the neat sum of \$150 could in this way be collected annually.

In 1818 the Synod of Pennsylvania met in Harrisburg, where the Rev. Dr. G. Lochmann was pastor. The distance from Meadville was more than two hundred miles, and the journey was tedious and difficult because of the great rains. Southeast of Franklin, in Clarion county, I came to the Tobys Creek; the banks were flooded on both sides, and here there was neither white man nor Indian to take me across. I had either to turn back or swim. Although entirely unskilled in such arts, I chose the latter alternative, and landed safely on the other side,—for which I had to thank God and the good swimmer on which I sat more than my own foresight or skill. I did not reach Harrisburg until Sunday; in time, however, to attend the morning service.

The Lutheran preachers at that time living in Maryland, and their congregations, still belonged to the Mother Synod of Pennsylvania. The vacant congregation in Cumberland, Md., had sent a petition to the Synod that it be again supplied with a preacher. When the matter came to be talked over in the Ministerium and the petition was read, it appeared that the congregation wanted to have preaching in both languages. But among the members of the Ministerium there were comparatively few who could preach in both, and of those few none was inclined to accept the call to Cumberland. From my diary which as a candidate I had handed to the Synod for examination it became known that I had made several English addresses

without failure. The result was that the young candidate was appointed to answer the petition from Cumberland in person, and, if no special hindrances existed, to take charge of the congregation. For the congregations in Crawford county another preacher was then to be appointed.

Cumberland is peculiarly situated on the Potomac River and Will's Creek; surrounded by hills and mountains on all sides, the traveler does not see the city until he comes quite near. In the eastern portion of the town on the right side of the road stood an old two-story block-house; the upper windows were boarded shut; at one gable-end two long beams were fastened, and between them hung an uncovered bell. The whole had a repulsive appearance, and when I was told that this was the Lutheran Church, I could form no favorable impression of the congregation. But, in spite of this, the Lord had an important field of labor for me here; a door was opened for me, and I labored with blessing in Cumberland and the surrounding country for six years. The Church building had been begun more than twenty years before. The first Lutheran preacher who preached here occasionally was Friederich Lang, who lived in Somerset, Pa. After him Pastor J. G. Butler, grandfather of the Rev. J. G. Butler, of Washington, D. C., was called. The congregation had now been without a preacher since 1815, and was thus falling into ruins. Judging from what I heard from the people, Father Butler (personally I did not know him) must have been a believing pastor who insisted upon repentance and conversion. But on the other hand he seems to have been somewhat dictatorial and unbending, so that he was not popular; when finally the weakness of old age was added, and he could no longer attend to his pastoral duties, the congregations wasted away. At the last celebration of the Holy Communion before his death only five persons communed. As far as men could see, the Lutheran congregation in Cumberland was dead. But the Lord found ways and means to gather the small flock again. Here also the saying held true:

"Gottes Wort und Luther's Lehr
Vergchet nun und nimmer mehr."

One of those whom Pastor Butler had confirmed, Martin Rizer, was a tool in the hands of God to give new energy to our Church in that district. He regarded it his duty to keep holy the Sabbath, and on Sunday to go where believing Christians assembled in the Name of the Lord Jesus. After the Lutheran congregation was without a preacher, he frequently went to the Methodist Church, but without intending to become unfaithful to his own Church. But the proselyters were not satisfied that Martin Rizer simply attended their meetings; they thought he should renounce his Lutheranism, and become a Methodist. A local preacher usually called Father Hendrickson spoke to him as follows one day: "Martin, I see you attend our meetings regularly, but you ought to join our Church entirely."

"Father Hendrickson," Martin replied, "I am a member of the Christian Church, and belong to the Lutheran congregation; I consider it entirely unnecessary to join any other."

"But," said Father Hendrickson, "the Lutheran congregation is in a bad way; the few cold name-Christians who call themselves Lutherans will not be able to maintain the congregation; you are a converted Christian; we would like to have you."

"Lo," answered the Lutheran deacon, "there you sin against the tenth Commandment, which says: Thou shalt not covet. Father Hendrickson, let us consider this matter aright. Suppose that in one house there were two rooms full of people, and in one there were twelve lights, in the other only one. Now some one comes from the brightly lighted room to take away the one light, and place it in his room. Would not the people in the one room be left in total darkness, and those in the other would not know they had more light than before? Could you call this well done?"

The old preacher was beaten; he clapped the man on the shoulder and said: "I understand what you are driving at; you are right. Stay where you are, and let your light shine where the Lord your God has placed you."

Soon after this conversation, Mr. Rizer, to his great joy, learned that the Lord Jesus had through his Holy Spirit awak-

ened four fathers of families, four of the cold Lutheran name-Christians, and had called to them: "Return, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings." Jer. 3: 22. Each of the four, John Sailer, Joseph Delong, John Schuck and Jacob Rüssel, had taken the call to heart; they answered unanimously: "Behold, we come unto Thee, for Thou art the Lord our God." For many years the people who had thus been awakened had immediately joined the Methodist congregation. But the above named four took refuge with the Lutheran deacon, Martin Rizer, and held meetings and prayer-meetings alone as members of the Lutheran Church. They praised God with gladness and singleness of heart, and found favor among all the people. And the Lord added to the congregation daily such as were saved. Now, too, the desire arose in all to call a Lutheran pastor, and to this end they had petitioned the Synod of Pennsylvania which met in Harrisburg that year.

In this condition I found the congregation at my first arrival. There were among the people many souls longing for salvation, who desired the pure milk of the Gospel, and in whom the marks of a lamb of Jesus could readily be recognized; for they heard the voice of the good Shepherd, they followed Him, and from strangers they fled away. But without a shepherd ordained by the Holy Ghost they would not long have remained unharmed by the wolves and men who speak perverted doctrines, who draw disciples to themselves. This conviction, together with other circumstances, induced me to accept the call. After I had preached in Cumberland and in two country congregations we came to an agreement, and I promised to return as soon as I had set in order my affairs in Crawford county, and to make my home in Cumberland.

That my former congregations would not be satisfied with the proposed change I well knew. But the prospect of being able to call a successor before long pacified them, and Pastor Rupert was ready to take the place soon after I left. Before I left Meadville my salary was duly paid. Amid wishes of success and blessing we took leave of each other. In 1860, when I lived in St. Paul, Minn., I quite unexpectedly received a friendly letter from Crawford county, written by George Peifer

and Israel Berlin, who in 1818 were already zealous members of the Lutheran Church. They gave me the gratifying assurance that after forty-two years I was still held in kind remembrance by the old inhabitants of that district.

Herr Jesu, stehe Du uns bei
 Mit Deiner Gnadenhand,
 Und führe uns hinauf
 In's rechte Vaterland!

If our Lutheran deacon Martin Rizer had not remained faithful to his Church when he was expected to renounce his Lutheranism and become a Methodist, we would in all probability have no English Lutheran congregation in Cumberland, Md., to-day. Had Martin Rizer joined the sectarians, the men who at that time were awakened would have done the same, and our small flock would have been scattered. Brother Rizer had exceptional gifts in exhorting, and singing, and praying, as also in visiting the sick; he was a great help to the young inexperienced preacher. Because of the office he honored the preacher, and instead of seeking his own honor he always exerted himself to uphold the influence and respect of the preacher among the people, and to advance the interests of the congregation. Preacher and deacon walked hand in hand, and the Lord blessed and prospered their efforts.

My English sermons at first attracted no special attention among the people. The proselyters harbored no fear that the little German preacher would put a stop to their sheep-stealing. But gradually, as through diligence and practice I attained greater proficiency, the audiences increased; the people were curious to hear the strange preacher; the crowds came to us. At three different communions I confirmed after due instruction eighty new members. Now the people said: The light is removed from the place in which it formerly stood. All the machinery of the sectarians was set in motion to hurt us. Class meetings and camp-meetings were held, and great efforts were made to entice away our sheep and lambs. A few weak, inconstant persons permitted themselves to be led astray, but in the main our envious neighbors could accomplish little or

nothing, for the Lord had set them a limit: "So far, and no farther." Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the corner-stone, our congregation grew into a holy temple unto the Lord.

The old Church was finally completed; a new pulpit and a tower in proportion with the building on the south side, gave the place a more churchly appearance than it had in 1818. Out of love to the children in the congregations we felt constrained to establish a Sunday School, the first of its kind in Alleghany County, Md. Among the scholars was a hearty little boy named Peter Rizer, who in time became preacher in the German Lutheran congregation of Cumberland. During his pastorate the congregation built a beautiful large Church in which Pastor G. H. Vosseler now preaches. Until my fourteenth year I was entirely unacquainted with the English language, and Brother Rizer was still older when he began to learn German. Yet the Lord so brought things about that Bro. Rizer had to preach in Cumberland in German only and I in English only, in accordance with our calls.

The annual meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1819 was held in Lancaster. At this time I with several other candidates was ordained, after having been a candidate for two years. The Synod requested me to visit some districts in Kentucky and Indiana, and to provide our brethren in the faith with Word and Sacraments. But to this I could consent only on condition that during my absence the congregations in and near Cumberland be served by the preachers living nearest. Pastors A. Reck, of Winchester, C. P. Krauth, of Shepherdstown, and B. Kurtz, of Hagerstown, undertook to preach for me. These brethren were at that time in their best years, and the congregation in Cumberland in this way became acquainted with some of the best English Lutheran preachers. The congregation at that time still used Watt's collection of hymns, which furnished Brother Krauth occasion to remark jokingly when he preached in Cumberland: "It seems I shall to-day sing Presbyterian and preach Lutheran."

At first we had only two country congregations, and to save expense I kept no horse, but travelled about on foot.

Gradually my parish grew larger and larger and the journeys on foot became too wearisome. Once it happened that I spent the whole night in a hilly country under the open sky. As is related of the Patriarch Jacob so did I also: I took a stone and put it for my pillow, and lay down in that place to sleep. But the ladder reaching to heaven I did not see, for I was too tired with walking and slept without dreaming. Not long after this I received a horse with saddle and bridle as a gift from some Christian friends. Now the field of my labors grew still more until I had to travel over a district 80 miles long and 30 miles wide. Ten Lutheran preachers now live in the district where at that time I alone was *episcopus-regionarius*. I spent three months on my missionary journey to Kentucky and Indiana; in July I left Cumberland and at the end of October I was again at home with my dear family. In the state of Kentucky I found Lutheran families in Boone, Jefferson and Nelson counties; in Indiana I visited Harrison, Boyd and Jefferson counties, and preached to our brethren in the faith who lived there. The small tracts, 500 of which I had taken along for distribution, were carefully read by many people, and I hope proved a blessing to many.

Louisville was at that time already quite an important town; among the residents, however, I found few belonging to our Church. But none the less an appointment was made that I should preach in the Presbyterian Church on Wednesday evening. On the preceding Sunday I was in Jefferson county, thirteen miles from Louisville; and this distance I could easily ride on Wednesday afternoon. The time came and brought storm and wind. In the pleasantest weather I had expected only a small audience, and now I thought none at all would come; thus I was induced to stay where it was dry. But what happened? Toward evening it cleared, the full moon rose, and the evening was pleasant. The Church, as I afterward heard, was filled, but no preacher came, and the people had to go home without a sermon. I was very sorry, and resolved never again to permit unfavorable weather to hinder me, but always to be at the place where services were announced at the time ap-

pointed. For the last forty-five years I have kept the resolution.

There is another circumstance connected with this missionary journey which I have not forgotten. Some good friends informed me that in many western districts no good drinking water could be found, and thought that in order to avoid evil consequences I must drink brandy with the water. This was contrary to my views and principles. From boyhood I had abstained from the use of brandy, etc. This I had done upon the advice of a reverend old man, 72 years of age, named Lenkhart. When I took leave of him in 1807 he said: "Dear young man, you are going out into the wide world; beware of brandy and other intoxicating drinks, through which so many young people ruin both body and soul. I am now 72 years old and have never used such drinks, and if you will do the same you will certainly not be sorry if you ever become as old as I am." This was a word fitly spoken for me, and this advice received fifty-eight years ago I have followed ever since. To all young people I would give the advice: "Go, and do likewise." He who is wise looks unto the end, and saves himself as soon as he can. In order to prevent the effects of bad drinking water, I took two small bottles of essence of pepperwort, and when necessary poured a few drops of this into the water, and thus the drinking of bad water did me no harm.

The condition of the revived Lutheran congregation in Cumberland was such that some kind of union with other Christian denominations seemed in many respects desirable and even necessary. The small number of families belonging to the Reformed, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian Churches were not yet able to build Churches, and were inclined to assist the Lutherans rather than the Methodists. The Rev. R. Kennedy, a Presbyterian preacher, taught a Latin school during the week, and preached in the court house on Sundays, even before I moved to Cumberland. But when our Church was completed, the arrangement was made that we should preach in it on alternate Sundays. This explains how it happened that Watt's collection of hymns was used in the Lutheran congregation for a time. At the celebration of the Holy Communion both

preachers generally participated. The members of the Reformed and the Episcopal Churches also communed with us, and a kind of union grew up which was by no means strictly Lutheran. Circumstances had brought it about; the union existed before we ourselves were entirely in the clear concerning it. Many thought:

Let names and sects and factions fall,
And Jesus Christ to us be all in all.

As long as I lived in Cumberland no difficulties grew out of this arrangement, but it was afterwards shown that the time had not yet come of which we read, John 10: 16: "And there shall be one fold and one Shepherd." The Presbyterians have since built their own Church, so also the Episcopalians; the old members of the Reformed Church the Lord has taken to Himself, and new members are not.

In the Wellersville congregation, nine miles north of Cumberland, no such conglomeration existed. Father Giese preached for the Reformed, and each of us tended to the flock entrusted to him. But in the Glades congregation, about sixty miles west of Cumberland, where I preached once every six or eight weeks, we went a step farther even than in Cumberland. In order to unite the inhabitants of the entire district into one congregation, a Church Council was elected consisting of two Lutherans, one Reformed, and one Presbyterian. The people were satisfied, and as long as I served the congregation everything went along smoothly. But such things cannot last long. I am now a stricter Lutheran than I was then, and would not recommend such a procedure; it might do more harm than good. Fortunately, the men elected to the Church Council were kind-hearted and reasonable. The Presbyterian elder was a son of the well-known New England theologian who upheld the strictest Calvinistic views, and after whom the Hopkinsinians were named. But the son, who lived in western Maryland, laid no special stress on these doctrines, and lived a quiet Christian life. The following incident occurred in the fall of 1821 or 1822, when scarcely any apples had grown in Cumberland, but the fruit-trees in the Glades congregation had borne plentifully. Mr. Hopkins kindly wished to supply

my family with apple-butter, and I was to take it with me on Monday. I had stayed with a neighbor, and on Sunday evening went over to Mr. Hopkins by moonlight. When I came to the house I found the family busy paring apples and cooking apple-butter, which certainly surprised me. But Mr. H. was not at all embarrassed; he gave me his hand and said: "You will think us poor Christians because you find us at this work; but I can give you satisfactory explanation. From sunset on Saturday to sunset on Sunday is our weekly day of rest. The fact is well known to my neighbors that in my family the work of the week ends on Saturday evening; on the other hand we do on Sunday evening what other conscientious Christians would not begin to do until after midnight. I hope you will not despise our apple-butter on this account." Another Presbyterian, A. Schmidt by name, a native of Scotland, was more Calvinistic than Hopkins, but a zealous church-goer. He lived twelve miles from where I preached, but it was not too far for him to attend the services regularly. From this small congregation three men were afterward called to be Lutheran preachers, the brothers A. Weils and S. Weils, and G. Schaefer. One of these I baptized, and one I confirmed. The Lord grant them grace to do the work of evangelical preachers, and fight a good fight in the Lord.

The congregation in Cumberland had for some time been increasing so rapidly that we undertook to invite the Synod of Maryland to meet in our midst. This happened in September, 1822, and was a benefit and a blessing to the congregation. Among other business transacted by the Synod, the Church Constitution, since then recommended by the General Synod, was discussed item by item. S. S. Schmucker and B. Kurtz took a specially active part in the transactions. The Rev. Dr. D. Kurtz, of Baltimore, also was in attendance. He preached on Sunday afternoon, and those who had not forgotten the mother-tongue listened to him with great attention, and took his sermon to heart. It was something new for the people to see so many Lutheran preachers together, and the whole Synod made a very favorable impression on the city and surrounding

district. From that time on Lutheranism spread ever more and more in Alleghany county.

Still it is not always sunshine; days of sorrow also come. So it happened in Cumberland. In October, 1822, we were visited by the intermittent fever; not a family escaped. In the winter it abated somewhat; but during the summer of 1823 it raged worse than before. My whole family was sick; our youngest child the Lord took to Himself. For several months I was unable to attend to my duties regularly. Upon the advice of the physician we moved ten or twelve miles from Cumberland into the mountains where people are never attacked by this fever. During this epidemic many people made a contract with the doctors to pay a certain sum annually, for which the services of the doctor could be requested at any time when some one in the family became sick.

While I was thus situated, I unexpectedly received an invitation to preach in Somerset, Pa. Since 1820 Pastor P. Schmucker had served the congregation, but now he had moved to Ohio. Some time previously the following incident occurred: Mr. Schmucker was visiting me and preached in the evening on I. Tim. 1: 15: "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief." The Presbyterian preacher, Mr. Kennedy, was also present. The sermon made no favorable impression; the people were not satisfied. On the following Sunday Mr. Kennedy chose the same text; and a week later I felt called upon to preach on the same words again in the same Church. In the introduction I related the incident that at a celebration of the Lord's Supper three preachers were present. When the first preacher read his text at the preparatory service on Saturday, the other two seemed somewhat embarrassed, for it was the same passage on which they had intended to preach on Sunday: John 1: 29: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." In the preparatory service the preacher endeavored mainly to direct the attention of his hearers to the Lamb of God; "Behold." The sermon on Sunday morning treated of the "Lamb of God," and in the evening the preacher based his sermon specially on

the words: "Which taketh away the sin of the world." In this way the people heard a rather complete and satisfactory explanation of the text. The congregation in Cumberland also showed no dissatisfaction with having had the opportunity of hearing three different preachers on one and the same text.

Somerset county is a high, mostly unlevel stretch of country between Laurel Hill and the Alleghany Mountains. The first settlers were mostly of German descent, Lutherans, Reformed and Dunkers. The first regular preacher of our Church was Pastor M. Steck, Sr., who as early as 1790, and earlier, when he still lived in or near Chambersburg, sought out our scattered brethren in the faith in the wilderness where Indians were still to be met with. In 1792 Pastor Steck moved to Greensburg, Westmoreland county, and from there also he visited Somerset until the small congregations were able to call a preacher for themselves. Pastors Lange, Tiedemann, Rebenack and P. Schmucker had served the congregations before I received the invitation to preach there. Somerset, Stoystown, Friedensburg and Samuel's Church constituted the parish. In the county-seat, Somerset, it was necessary to preach English, but in the other congregations the people clung to their German mother-tongue. After I had preached in Somerset county for some months while still living in Cumberland, I felt it to be my duty to accept the call of the congregations, and in the spring of 1824 I moved to Somerset. As I had left the people in Meadville in a friendly manner, six years before, so now also peace and harmony reigned in the Cumberland congregation when I resigned. Some months ago I again visited this congregation which is still dear to me, and after forty years found it in a flourishing condition under the pastoral care of the Rev. A. J. Weddell. Some of my former members I found still on their earthly pilgrimage and in connection with the congregation. But Brother Martin (Rizer) had entered upon the joy of his Lord some years ago.

About the time when I moved to Somerset a new sect was being formed, which had for its founder a certain Alexander Campbell, a native of Scotland. This sect found followers among the people of Somerset. The baptism of children, in-

struction in the catechism, etc., were rejected by them; immersion was the main thing with the sectarians; whoso would be saved must into the water. Alexander Campbell originally belonged to the Presbyterians; he had remarkable gifts in disputation, and made good use of them in increasing his following. He was fond of holding public disputations on Baptism, had these printed, and was zealous in selling them. Our people in Somerset became embarrassed, for they were not skilled in polemics. It almost seemed as if the entire town would soon seek its salvation in the water. Under these circumstances I found myself compelled to defend our Church's doctrines in the pulpit. In announcing that at the next service I would preach on Baptism, I remarked: "Our Evangelical Lutheran Church is built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone. We recognize neither Pope nor Bishop who has the right to prescribe to us or command us; the Bible contains the divine rule and guide of our faith and life. In the Holy Scriptures, therefore, we desire to search; if our former conviction concerning Baptism is not founded on God's Word, it is our duty to change it; but if we find that the Lutheran doctrine of Baptism is grounded on the Bible, we will not let ourselves be moved to and fro by every wind of doctrine." In the first sermon the question was treated: Who shall be baptized? Answer: Adult believers and the children of Christian parents. The second sermon treated the question of the mode of Baptism. In the third sermon I intended to speak on the question: What gifts or benefits does Baptism confer? But, alas! a week after the second sermon on Monday morning at two o'clock the whole town was roused from sleep by an alarm of fire, and, lo and behold, our pretty Lutheran Church was in flames. By the time the people reached it nothing was left to be saved, for it was a frame building, and burned down to the foundation walls. How the fire started remains a mystery to this day. Many suspected and asserted it must have been started by followers of A. Campbell. This suspicion was strengthened by the fact that on Monday while the glowing embers were still lying about the place Campbell came to Somerset to refute my

sermons. But the people were so strongly moved against his proselyting by the loss of their Church that he had to leave without accomplishing anything; for only a very few went to hear him. On the same day the Church was set afire and burned the congregation made preparations for the erection of a new brick Church. The corner-stone was laid as soon as possible (in 1825). But for various reasons the building did not progress as rapidly as had been expected. Under these circumstances the Reformed congregation kindly invited us to use their large Church until we could move into our Lutheran Zion. The sect founded by A. Campbell has, as is known, since then spread in many portions of the country; they now call themselves Baptists, but are not recognized by the orthodox Baptists, because they do not agree with them in doctrines concerning the ground of faith. In Somerset they are now quiet and less pretentious than they formerly were. Whether they shall continue as a sect is doubtful; the future will decide.

Among the congregations united with Somerset the Friedens congregation, five miles north of Somerset, became the largest and most active. In order to have the pastor in their midst this congregation erected a parsonage beside the Church. With this country dwelling I was better pleased than with the small towns in which I had lived before.

In 1826 I received an invitation to preach in congregations in Washington county, which had long been served by Pastor Weigant; I was also elected, but considered it my duty to decline the call.

The Rev. Dr. Endress ended his earthly pilgrimage in 1827; the congregation in Lancaster called the Rev. J. Becker, of Germantown, and Brother Benjamin Keller, of Carlisle, was chosen his successor. The congregation in Carlisle called Pastor Ernst, of Lebanon, but he was unwilling to leave. Quite unexpectedly my turn came next; I was not acquainted with any one in Carlisle, and had never preached there. After mature deliberation I answered that if the congregation intended to invite any other preacher I would advise that he be heard first, and voted on. With the return mail the invitation to preach was renewed, with the note that no other applicant

would be voted on, but that after I had preached it was to be decided by yes or no whether I should be called as successor to Pastor B. Keller or not.

My first sermon met with little favor, and had the election been held the next day I would in all probability not have been elected. But in accordance with the agreement previously made I had to preach again on Wednesday evening, and this time the congregation was so well pleased with me that when the election was held no one voted against me. My friends in Somerset consented to let me go away, because they believed I would improve my circumstances. Candidate Daniel Heilig was elected my successor, and I accepted the call to Carlisle. An aristocratic spirit was reigning in that town at the time, which insisted rigidly on rank and divided the inhabitants into higher, middle and lower castes or strata. With all the affected superiority, however, there was much glaring poverty to be found among the people. As a preacher coming from the West my appearance in Carlisle attracted no special notice; many were even inclined to look upon me over the left shoulder. To these also belonged Mr. John Ibaugh, preacher in the Reformed congregation. The former arrangement had been that English services were held alternately one Sunday evening in the Lutheran, the next in the Reformed Church. Because of the country congregations it was too much for the Lutheran preacher to preach in Carlisle every Sunday evening. But about this time Mr. Ibaugh began to announce services in his Church for every Sunday evening. But it did not last long, for many of his own members wished that the previous arrangement be retained, and he found that on the evenings when there was preaching in the Lutheran Church his Church was comparatively empty. The following incident may have contributed somewhat to this result. Mr. Ibaugh had announced that he would deliver a series of lectures on the Biblical history of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament. Not long before sermons on this subject had been printed: one of his hearers took this book along to the meeting in order to compare Mr. Ibaugh's lectures with it, and, behold, he found a verbal agreement with what was printed in the book. When this became known, Mr.

Ibaugh was done with biographical lectures, appointed services for every two weeks, and even came to hear me preach quite regularly.

It was of benefit to me in many ways that the congregation had not expected too much of me at the beginning, for I could so much more easily satisfy them, and my sermons were more and more favorably received. The young people who were growing up in the congregation were also willing to attend catechetical instruction and to be received as members of the congregation by confirmation. Some of these young people belonged to families who had set a time for moving to the West, and could not postpone their journey. These were confirmed some weeks earlier than the rest, and admitted to the Holy Communion. On this occasion I sought to bring the words of the angel I Kings 19: 7, right close to their hearts: "Arise and eat, for thou hast a long journey before thee." The Lord was with us and manifested His gracious presence in the large assembly. But it is not always sunshine; alongside of the gratifying, the preacher also has many unpleasant experiences to make. The camp-meeting of the Methodists in Cumberland county was visited by many Church people; many even thought we ought to omit our services and all go to camp-meeting. Especially unpleasant was it to see the members of the congregation pass by the Church on Sunday morning to attend the Methodist meeting. On the Sunday when this happened nothing was said of it in the sermon; but on the following Sunday I preached on 2 Cor. 5: 14: "The love of Christ constraineth us." In the first application the question was asked: To what shall the love of Christ constrain us as Church members? Answer: To do our duty. But the duty of members of a congregation is to appear regularly at the appointed time in the public services. They, therefore, err who think that the love of Christ constraineth them to attend the camp-meetings, especially when services are appointed in their own Church. This presentation of truth, which was made earnestly, but in a kindly manner, was taken to heart by many. A second case in which I found it necessary to use Church discipline was the following: A young person had been led astray and

After a few moments we went out to talk together alone. Now he told me that his trunk had been sent to Westmoreland county, with a teamster; but there he could learn nothing of either teamster or trunk, and had, therefore, given up hope of ever seeing his clothes and books again. Under these circumstances he did not undertake to apply for the congregations, for he thought the people would not take him as their preacher, he being a stranger with threadbare traveling-coat and torn shoes. He intended to earn something by working, in order to return to Germany as soon as possible; now he had failed in this also, and he did not know what to do next. I asked him to tell me honestly whether before leaving Germany he had not done something which exiled him from his native land, and of which we would hear sooner or later. His answer was: "You can depend upon it that nothing of this kind induced me to emigrate to America. I completed my studies regularly and honorably; belong to the Evangelical Church of Prussia; my father was Reformed, and my mother, born Lichtenstein, was born and raised a Lutheran." When I heard the name Lichtenstein I asked: "Where was your mother born?" "In Helmstedt." So his mother and I had been neighbors' children and playmates. This was for me an additional motive for assisting the young man. I gave him money to buy shoes, and told him the way he must go to find my house. In the course of the week his things unexpectedly arrived at Somerset, and now he had neat black clothes. He preached on Sunday very acceptably. Soon after he visited a vacant congregation in Preston county, Virginia, and came to an agreement with the people, and applied to the West Pennsylvania Synod in Mifflinsburg for admission.

From Mifflinsburg he returned to Preston county and preached there for a year. Then he grew homesick, and suddenly started out to visit the Fatherland, but he had not sufficient money to pay traveling expenses. After he had taught school for a time he came to Allentown to the Homeopathic Institute, and finally studied anatomy in Philadelphia, left the ministry and became a practising physician.

Another incident I might here mention in few words. After the Synodical sermon was preached in Mifflinsburg a young man came to me and told me that he had studied theology in Germany, and had arrived in America only a few weeks before, etc. For admission into the Synod he did not apply. His name was Nast, the same who can in many respects be regarded the founder of German Methodism in America, and for many years has found an extended field of labor in Cincinnati. If we had received the young candidate Nast in a more friendly and affectionate manner in Mifflinsburg, he might perhaps have remained a member of the Lutheran Church. But—man proposes and God disposes.

Christianity shall be spread through Christians. Each Christian is called and in duty bound to take active part in the spreading of God's Kingdom on earth; and all Christian congregations should try with united powers to spread the glad tidings of our Saviour among those who still sit in the shadow and darkness of death, as also among those who in the western parts of our country live like sheep without a shepherd scattered here and there. In this sacred and important matter all the Synods of the East and West ought to work together in order to keep up our missions among the heathen and to cultivate the mission fields in the West. A two-fold wall is stronger than a single wall, and a three-fold cord stronger than a single cord. Union gives strength. The division which has caused so much strife and disunion in our mother church is to be lamented; the harm which it has caused is unspeakably great. The God of peace have mercy on His quarreling children!

CHAPTER V.

In October, 1835, I was appointed Agent for Home Missions for five years by the Central Missionary Society.* Accordingly in December (27th), 1835, I for the second time bade the congregations in and around Somerset farewell, after having again served them with success for four years. After the farewell sermon the Church officers came to me and again requested me to change my resolution if it were possible and remain with them. In the afternoon the remark was made in the family: We are now moving away from here against the will of the people the second time, and may not think of ever again making our home in this parish. My answer was: The Lord's will be done. Just then I took up a Bible, and as I opened it I incidentally saw the passage, 2 Cor. 12: 14: "Behold, the third time I am ready to come unto you." After an absence of more than twenty-five years this has also been fulfilled. I again live in Somerset, and intend, if the Lord will, to spend the evening of my life here in quietness.

Between Christmas and New Year (Wednesday, Dec. 30) I started on the journey to the far West. Two good friends, F. Gebhart and J. L. Snyder, deacons in the Somerset congregation, accompanied me for eight miles to the foot of Laurel Mountain, where we spent the night with J. Gebhart, at that time Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania. On the next morning my companions returned eastward to Somerset, and I went on my way alone to the far West. In Wheeling I met a steamer which was on the point of leaving. In this way I reached Cincinnati speedily and comfortably. About twelve miles from Cincinnati, in Kentucky, lived Pastor Crigler, formerly my neighbor and faithful co-worker in Somerset county. After a separation of several years we had the pleasure of meeting again. On Sunday the people gathered from near

*The letter announcing his appointment, dated November 4, and signed by Dr. S. S. Schmucker, Secretary, was printed in the Lutheran Observer, December 4, 1835, at Heyer's request, so as to serve as a letter of introduction.

and far to hear and learn to know a Lutheran preacher. Brother Crigler was a faithful pastor who is still kindly remembered by many, although he entered upon the joy of the Lord more than twenty years ago.

In Indiana but few Lutheran preachers were living at that time. Brother Abraham Reck, who, if I am not mistaken, is now the oldest of our living preachers, had settled not far from Indianapolis. He greeted me with the call: "Come in, thou blessed of the Lord; wherefore standest thou without?" We were old acquaintances and had been friends in Maryland. My short stay was made as comfortable as possible. In Henry county I found the old war-hero Lehmanowsky,* who after having been engaged in more than a hundred battles under Napoleon, finally in his older years served under the banner of the cross of Jesus as Lutheran preacher. He had lived through much, and could relate much. In his earlier youth the good teachings of his pious mother had already made a blessed impression on his heart. In 1809 he was present when Josephine was divorced from the Emperor Napoleon. A young officer asked his opinion of the divorce; Lehmanowsky expressed the fear that because of this transaction divine judgments would come upon the emperor; his friend mocked him, and called him a superstitious fool. Some years after when Napoleon was forced to abdicate the two friends again met in Paris, and he who had been light-hearted and mocking now shared the views of Lehmanowsky concerning the emperor's divorce in 1809.

In the battle of Waterloo Lehmanowsky served as adjutant under Marshal Ney. In the afternoon when the French began to give way, the marshal sent his adjutant to the emperor to ask for reinforcements. Napoleon answered: "I have none to send—the fortune of war, we part!" gave his gray horse the spurs, hurried away and abandoned everything. Even his gorgeous coach together with valuable documents was captured by the Prussians. With the emperor's fall the hopes of the Poles fell also. As a foreigner and an adherent

*Of whom we now have a biography in the form of a romance: "Under Two Captains," by Rev. W. A. Sadtler, Ph. D.

of Napoleon, Lehmanowsky had only sad prospects in France. He emigrated, and sought a livelihood in the United States. For some time he made a scanty living in Washington as secretary. During this time he also took active part in establishing the first German Lutheran congregation in Washington, attended various conferences and synods, became acquainted with a number of Lutheran preachers, and was finally sent to the far West as evangelist by the Maryland Synod, charged with the duty of preaching Christ the Crucified. He became an active member of the Synod of the West. At last in high old age, satiated with life and weary, he prayed: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, and fell asleep (in 1858).

During my journey through Indiana I became acquainted with two other Lutheran preachers, namely, Pastor Miller and Eusebius Henkel. Both belonged to a Synod in North Carolina; but I was kindly received and affectionately treated by them. Most of the members of their congregations had also moved to this district from North Carolina. Many of them had taken part in the Church controversies which had arisen under the leadership of Carl Henkel and others. I had several conversations with these people and found that they were quite at home in Scripture, well educated and well acquainted with the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church. Their preachers also testified of them, that they diligently attended the public services and led moral lives.

On a cold Saturday in January, 1836, I reached the left or eastern bank of the Wabash river; on the opposite bank lay the town of Mt. Carmel, which had been founded but a few years before. The river was greatly swollen and the boatmen did not want to risk taking my horse across because of the ice-floes. I myself reached Mt. Carmel in a small boat. The host with whom I stopped immediately questioned: Where from? Where to? etc. When I told him that I had gone out to seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he sent for a zealous and fairly educated local preacher who afterwards entertained me hospitably at his home. In this town, as in many other districts, the Methodists had gained the chief place; there was none but a Methodist Church in the town.

No German Lutherans lived in the place, and I therefore consented to preach in the Methodist Church on Sunday morning. The congregation was large, attentive and devout. But before the end of the sermon the zealous local preacher became so filled with the spirit of joy that to relieve himself somewhat he struck his hands together and cried out aloud: "Yes, that is the doctrine, that will do the business!" The people may have been accustomed to such scenes, for they were not disturbed by it; but it almost upset me.

Westward from Mt. Carmel, in Wabash county, there lived several Lutheran and Reformed families, most of whom had moved there from Lehigh and Northampton counties in Pennsylvania. Among these people there was still a churchly spirit; they were not only glad to see a Lutheran preacher among them, but were ready to buy eighty acres of public land for a church and school, and to undertake to build a church, so that in May when I again came into this district the Corner-stone could already be laid.* On this occasion Pastor Haverstick was also present, who had been appointed traveling preacher for some months by the Pennsylvania mother-synod. As far as known to me there were at that time but very few Lutheran Churches in the State of Illinois. I found one frame Church in Hillsboro, Montgomery county, which was served by Pastor Scherer, and two block churches in Union county, not far from Jonesboro. The first Lutheran Church in Illinois built of brick was, as far as I know, that in Wabash county, of which Pastor Haverstick and I laid the corner-stone. Among other things Bro. Haverstick told me how he fared in St. Clair county, not far from Belleville. He came into a district where a number of Lutheran families lived who thought themselves wiser than their neighbors; for when Pastor H. offered to preach for them they gave him the answer: "We need no priests; over yonder live some ignorant Germans, they might perhaps be glad if you would come to them." I would like to know how these over-wise people

*April 25, 1836, was the date of the corner-stone laying of the Jordan Greek Church.

have fared since then, and whether their descendants became children of the same spirit.*

From Carmel I went southward to Shawneetown on the Ohio river. Here I was forced to put up at an ale-house with very rough company. Rather than stay with the godless people in the house I stayed with the horses and cattle in the stable for a time, where I felt more comfortable than in the counsel of the ungodly where the scornful sit. From Shawneetown my way led through a tract at that time uninhabited for about a hundred miles, to Jonesboro, Union county.† In this southern part of Illinois there were at that time two or three small congregations which had previously been visited and served by Lutheran preachers. The families in these congregations had almost all moved from North Carolina. But true unity did not exist among them, and they had been unable to keep any preacher long. Two block churches had been begun, but not completed; congregational schools there were none; the youth grew up without instruction, and the weeds gained the upper hand. My arrival as a Lutheran preacher attracted no special attention; still, the meetings during the week and on Sunday were attended by gradually increasing numbers; the scattered flock gathered again, and the desire began to grow that the congregations might soon be provided with a resident preacher.

The difference in manner of living between Pennsylvanians and North Carolinians was striking. Among the latter corn and pork were the customary food, garden vegetables were little used. The Pennsylvanians on the other hand used besides wheat bread also rye, corn and buckwheat bread, veg-

*A different spirit prevailed in other sections: in Wabash Co. Rev. Heyer found some Germans so staunch in their Lutheranism that "they positively declare they cannot receive the Lord's Supper from any minister except one who belongs to their church; nor would they be persuaded otherwise." Luth. Observer, April 15, 1836.

†A letter dated Union Co., Illinois, February 29, 1836, is found in the Lutheran Observer, April 15, 1836. In it he writes: "I have not spoken, nor do I intend hereafter to say much about the hardships and privations which must necessarily be endured by one who undertakes an exploring agency in the far West. It requires an excellent constitution and an enthusiastic zeal to persevere in an undertaking of this kind. You are not hence to infer that I am discouraged: no, through the grace of God, I am resolved to go on, and hope that much good will result from our missionary exertions."

etables in abundance, potatoes and beans, cabbage and turnips, and dried fruit; milk, butter, cheese and honey are also generally used by them. Flax and tow is usually spun in Pennsylvania families, cotton in North Carolina families. In Union county few people had stoves; most shifted with open fire-places. The draft through the cracks in the walls, through windows and doors, was unpleasant, and, sitting by a great fire of logs, one was half-roasted on one side and half-frozen on the other. In Wabash county the dwellings were tighter, and almost every family was provided with one or more stoves. In neither place, however, was there a lack of hospitality; all seemed willing to give of what they had.

After a stay of several weeks in Union county,* where I preached the Gospel and administered the Sacraments on week-days and Sundays, I crossed the Mississippi for the first time somewhere north of Cape Girardeau, and almost reached the Iron Mountains, where the richest iron ore in the world is found. In this southeastern section of Missouri there were German settlements, but mostly from North Carolina. I became acquainted with a young candidate (Rev. F. Picker) who ministered among the people. He had studied in Halle, the congregations were satisfied with him, but he belonged to no Synod. Why this young well-educated theologian had as it were concealed himself in such a remote district was strange and puzzling to me.

On my return from Missouri in March I saw the people living along the Mississippi still engaged in gathering and hauling their corn. When I asked why they had not done this work in fall, the following explanation was given: "In April when the ice and snow melt in the North, the Mississippi generally rises so high that our low-lying, but most fertile fields are under water for weeks. As soon as the land becomes dry enough we plant our corn. In June or July we work between the rows with a cultivator in order to destroy the weeds. In August the intermittent fever begins to rage; in September and October almost everybody suffers from this disease, and is unable to work in the fields until the winter has brought

**Cf.* Luth. Obs., May 6, and June 10, 1836.

recovery; thus it gets to be February or March before we can haul our corn home." I thought to myself: In such a district I would not live, even though the grain brought forth fruit an hundred fold. And there were no German farmers living among them.

In April I visited some of the central counties of Illinois. When I came to Hillsboro, Montgomery county, I went to Pastor Daniel Scherer, and was fraternally welcomed by him. Even if not quite the first, Bro. Scherer was certainly one of the first Lutheran preachers in the State of Illinois. His members lived in and about Hillsboro, having moved there from North Carolina. As far as I could see a churchly spirit prevailed among these people. They had not only called a pastor, but also built a church where they assembled diligently to make use of the ordained means of grace. In May, 1830, Pastor D. Scherer had been appointed by the North Carolina Synod as missionary to the State of Illinois, but he did not reach his destination until July, 1831. In Union county he preached in Friedens and in St. John's Church, and in August he visited the brethren in the faith 140 miles farther north in Montgomery county. During these two months he preached nineteen times, baptized forty-five children and one adult, and gave Communion to sixty-two persons. In 1832 he moved from North Carolina to Hillsboro, and from there visited the scattered members in the various regions of the State. This faithful servant of the Lord has for a long time rested from his labors, but is still held in grateful remembrance by many. His son, F. R. Scherer, is pastor in Iowa, and the brothers Harkey and Pastor A. Trimper come from the Hillsboro congregation.

After I had rested for several days with Bro. Scherer I continued my reconnoitering tour northward to Pekin and Peoria. Whenever I heard of German settlements while I was on my way,* I visited them and supplied them as time and circumstances would permit with the Word and Sacra-

*He seems also to have used a gazetteer, which was not always reliable. He found a place called Germany, four miles northeast of Springfield, which Peck's Illinois Gazetteer stated was settled by Pennsylvania Germans. He went there, but found very few Germans, and became acquainted with only one German family from Ohio.

ments. One day I also came into a district where none but New Englanders lived, true Yankees (in the good sense of the term). They were Congregationalists. I preached for them twice, and they expressed the wish that I remain with them as their permanent preacher. These people are quick and clever in adapting themselves to new homes. In this respect they excel even the Pennsylvanians. At times I also came to districts inhabited only by recent immigrants. Among them every thing was done differently from what was to be seen among the North Carolinians and Pennsylvanians, and among the Yankees. One could immediately see from their huts, fences and fields that they did not exactly understand working with wood. But in spite of the difficulties and privations with which they had to contend, most of them were of good courage. Hope of better times served to encourage them. Many who had been in the country five or six years already had a number of cows, sheep and swine, and a supply of salted and smoked meat such as they had never been able to enjoy in the father-land. Some asserted that they had made more progress here in five years than poor people in Germany made in fifty. In respect to church matters there was an important difference also, depending upon whether they came from North or South Germany. In the case of some it was also seen that the false illumination had given them a perverted tendency. Many of the descendants of these then new settlers now belong to the wealthiest inhabitants of the State of Illinois,—and I hope many of them are also faithful members of our Lutheran Zion.

The roads from Peoria to Chicago were at that time not passable, and this prevented me from going farther north. In the beginning of May I was again in Wabash county, where, as has already been stated, the corner-stone of a new Union Church was laid. At this corner-stone laying no Reformed preacher was present, for none lived in Illinois at that time, and there resided in Illinois only one Lutheran preacher belonging to an Evangelical Synod. Now, in 1868, there are more than a hundred preachers connected with us. In view of such an extraordinary increase one might well exclaim:

Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr,
Vergehet nun und nimmer mehr.

From Wabash county, Bro. Haverstick returned to his home in Pennsylvania. In June I started for home, and after an absence of six months I came home safe and sound to my family in Somerset.* How often I preached during this time, how many persons I baptized, to how many I gave Communion, and how many miles I traveled during this long journey, I cannot say from memory, and I can find nothing concerning it among my papers. One thing, however, I still know well; namely, that the gracious Father in Heaven protected me during all this time from sickness, harm and danger. To my Lord and Saviour be glory and praise for this now and ever.

From July to November, 1836, I was engaged in work in Cambria, Indiana, Clearfield, Huntingdon, etc., counties, where at that time many districts were already inhabited by Lutherans,—but very few preachers among them. As many know from experience, the traveling preacher is at times received in a very friendly manner, but at times also very indifferently. Among the zealous and faithful members of our Church who were always glad when they were visited by an ordained Lutheran preacher, the most eminent was Father Güllich,‡ in Clearfield county. He frequently accompanied me when I had announced Church services, to show me the way, and to introduce me to the people. He frequently prayed: "O Lord, send laborers into Thy harvest." At times he went a hundred miles to attend a meeting of Synod; and then he never failed to make an urgent plea for traveling preachers. In his family Christian discipline and order prevailed. One Monday morning when I came to his home I noticed that my purse was gone; but whether I had lost it on Saturday, Sunday or Monday I could not tell, for I had not used it for two or three days. Father Güllich and his children thought that

*Account of his return journey in *Lutheran Observer*, June 24, and July 29, 1836.

‡Who had been appointed lay-reader by the West Pennsylvania Synod. See letter of August 31, 1836, giving account of work in that month in *Lutheran Observer*, September 23, 1836.

we should go back over the road by which I had come, and hunt for the lost purse. I thought one might almost as well look for a needle in a hay-stack. In less than an hour the oldest son had his horse saddled and rode away. Before evening he returned and brought purse and money with him; he had found it about nine miles from the house on the main road. I would gladly have given him some compensation for his trouble, but no, of such a thing parents and children would not hear. I afterward sent him a neatly-bound hymn-book, of which he made good use. I entertain the hope that Father Göllich's descendants still walk in his Christian ways.

In the course of this summer I also became acquainted with other souls eager for salvation, and children of God. In general the people attended the meetings on week-days and Sundays in large numbers; the Word of the Cross made a strong and deep impression on many hearts. The children were brought to Holy Baptism, the adults came to Confession and to the Holy Communion; their souls fainted for the Bread of Life. Of course there were also such as had spent years in remote regions without Word and Sacraments and were therefore grown wild.

CHAPTER VI.

In November, 1836, owing to peculiar circumstances I was called to a new field of labor. Efforts had been made at various times to establish an English Lutheran congregation in Pittsburg; but so far unsuccessfully. The Synod of West Pennsylvania at its meeting held in October had resolved to make another attempt, and appointed three of its members to preach in Pittsburg in rotation. Those thus commissioned were N. Scharretts, J. Martin, and C. F. Heyer. In the beginning of November I unexpectedly came to Bro. Martin at Williamsburg. "You come just at the right time," he immediately said, "I have just received a letter from Bro. Scharretts in which he tells me that he announced services in Pittsburg for next Sunday, but being indisposed he cannot undertake the journey, and asks me to go in his place. But it is not convenient for me either, for I have announced Holy Communion for next Sunday, and dare not disappoint the people. Thus it comes to your turn, if the undertaking in Pittsburg is not to fail in the very beginning." To get further information from Bro. Scharretts concerning the appointment made I immediately set out again across the Allegheny Mountains in a snow-storm. At 11 o'clock at night I reached Ebensburg. At 1 o'clock I proceeded farther in the stage; and at eight in the morning I surprised Bro. Scharretts in Indiana by my unexpected visit. He was unwell, but able to be up, and we had no fear at that time that this promising and gifted young fellow-laborer would in a few weeks be called from our midst. My stay in Indiana was brief, for in the afternoon I drove back to Ebensburg, where I had left my horse; on Wednesday I was in Somerset, where I had business to attend to, and on Saturday I arrived in Pittsburg. Mr. G. Weyman, a quiet but Christian man, took a specially active part in the establishment of an English congregation in Pittsburg. On Sunday morning and evening I preached in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

On the following Tuesday seven or eight heads of families came together to discuss what further could and should be done to attain our purpose. Among other things it was resolved to accept with thanks the promised assistance of the West Pennsylvania Synod. Further, a committee was appointed to look for a suitable building where meetings could be held in future. All were urged to hunt up the English-speaking members of our Church in and around Pittsburg, and to encourage them to take part in the establishment of an English Lutheran Church.

Some weeks after this beginning had been made Bro. J. Martin went to Pittsburg and preached very acceptably in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. When I came to Pittsburg the second time the Unitarian Church, on Smithfield street, had been rented for our use for six months. At the first meeting in this building a Constitution was proposed, adopted and signed by eleven or twelve heads of families. Soon after this I received instructions from the Missionary Society to remain in Pittsburg, to carry on the work which had been begun. Our good Brother Scharretts could take no further part, for he was transferred to the Church triumphant toward the end of 1836.* On December 30 or 31 I attended his funeral. The congregations in Indiana and Blairsville, which he had built up with much labor and self-denial on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone, are now able each to support a pastor of their own. The seemingly small beginning in Pittsburg has also made blessed progress. The congregation is now large and prosperous, and already counts two daughter or sister congregations, one in Birmingham and another in Allegheny.

The first German Lutheran congregation in Pittsburg was also started in January, 1837, under the following circumstances. For a long time there had been a German congregation in Pittsburg consisting of Lutherans and Reformed, and served alternately by a Lutheran and then for a time by a Re-

*Biographical sketch by Rev. Heyer in *Lutheran Observer*, January 12, 1887.

formed preacher. Pastor Kemmerer, a member of the Reformed Synod, was its preacher from 1830 to 1837. A large majority of the congregation belonged to the Lutheran Church. It therefore seemed no more than right that a Lutheran preacher should preach for them occasionally. I applied to Pastor Kemmerer asking permission to preach in the Church. But quite unexpectedly he informed me that without the consent of the Church Council he could not let any one enter the pulpit in his place. When I asked the Church Council I was told it had been resolved that none but the installed pastor should conduct services in the congregation. In this state of affairs I thought to myself that if Lutherans are thus to be cut off from the opportunity of hearing a preacher of their Confession, I must try to serve my brethren in the faith elsewhere.

In the course of the following week the announcement was made that on the next Sunday afternoon German services would be held in the rented church. At the time appointed a considerable number of attentive and devout hearers was present. After the service it was resolved to establish a German Lutheran congregation, and the names of those willing to join it were noted. Two weeks later a constitution was adopted and church officers were elected. Thus with God's help an English and a German Lutheran congregation were started. After six months, however, both congregations became somewhat embarrassed, for the Unitarians had called a preacher, and we could no longer rent their building. For a time we had to use a school-house; then we obtained permission to use the old court-house. Finally we felt that if each congregation was to continue and grow, it must have services every Sunday, and in the forenoon. To make this possible the Missionary Society appointed one of our most able young preachers, Candidate E. Frey, to take charge of the English congregation. He came to Pittsburg, but had to leave us again after a short time because the sulphurous gas or thick smoke of the coal developed the beginnings of rheumatic gout in him. The dear brother had to suffer much from this disease later, and finally lost the use of his limbs entirely, and for

years has had to spend most of his time in a wheel-chair. Soon after Bro. Frey left us a student from Gettysburg was sent to the English congregation, D. John McCron, who now lives in Baltimore. On Sunday evenings he frequently preached in various churches and because of his oratorical gifts was well liked. The small flock of English-speaking Lutherans increased; the German congregation also grew from Sunday to Sunday. But now we were confronted with the difficult task of building two new churches. The Germans were all poor, and among the English there was only one wealthy member. The German congregation made the first move, and bought a building lot on Sixth street, between Smithfield and Grand streets. Work was begun, but soon had to be stopped again because part of the lot was demanded as belonging to a small side street. Now good advice was precious; some were ready to become disheartened, but the majority decided to buy a more valuable lot on the corner of Sixth and Grand streets. That we might be able to complete the church building I undertook a difficult journey to collect funds, and gathered about \$1300. Without this assistance from other congregations the church would not have been finished. At times I was poorly received and got nothing, or was sent off with small gifts; on other occasions I received more than I had expected. Two or three miles from Hanover there lived a rather wealthy man, unmarried but no longer young. When I came to his house he was hauling corn. I went into the field to him, and laid my cause before him; he promised to give me something if I waited until he had his wagon loaded, and would drive to the house. I did not put my hands into my pockets to look idly on, but helped him load. When we had come to the house the old bachelor went into a side room and brought as his contribution—ten cents. I remonstrated with him, but more than twenty-five cents I could not get out of his apparently copper-sheathed heart. At the next house the people were more friendly and more ready to contribute a dollar toward our church building.

In reference to my collecting tour and our undertaking

in Pittsburg I wrote to the editor of the Lutheran "Kirchenzeitung" on October 6, 1839:

"Dear Brother in Christ! My present business is indeed the most important, but also the most difficult I have ever undertaken in the service of our Evangelical Zion.

"You know that the Central Missionary Society more than two years ago commissioned me to preach the Gospel to our Lutheran brethren in Pittsburg. In January, 1837, the first English and at the same time the first German Lutheran congregation in Pittsburg was started by writing down the names of members and the installation of officers. In the next year (1838) the first German Lutheran Church in Allegheny was established, and on January 1, 1839, a small church was already erected for this congregation. Since last spring Brothers McCron and Miller have been called as fellow-laborers in these congregations. Mr. McCron serves the English congregation, and Mr. Miller the German, i. e., in Allegheny; so that three Lutheran preachers are stationed where four years ago there was none. In reliance on God's help and the assistance of Christian friends two lots of ground have been bought, one for a German and one for an English church. The German church is to be under roof in a few days, and is forty-five by sixty feet. The English church is to be forty by seventy feet. This undertaking is naturally accompanied by great outlay of money, and cannot be accomplished without assistance from other congregations. Upon the advice of the brethren in Ohio and Pennsylvania I have for some time devoted myself to the work of gathering contributions for the German congregation, the money to be applied for the completion of the church. So far I have been graciously received and have had my requests granted.*

"May the Lord strengthen me in my undertaking and make the spirits of men willing to give; it is God's cause.

"C. F. H."

*In the fall of 1839 a panic hindered the collection of money, but also gave occasion for some very agreeable surprises. *Lutheran Observer*, November 15, 1839.

The first German Lutheran Church in Pittsburg was consecrated on April 5, 1840. In reference to this event the following was published in the "Kirchenzeitung":

"Pittsburg, April 9, 1840.

"Greatly beloved Brother! The first Sunday in April was a joyful and blessed day for all true friends of Lutheranism in Pittsburg. Among the many various churches in this busy town there is at last to be found a German Lutheran Church. Yes, after long and persistent efforts our undertaking has now so far prospered that we have been able to consecrate and dedicate to the service of the Triune God the newly built First Lutheran Church, on last Sunday, April 5. Seven preachers and about 1200 people were in the church and a considerable number of persons outside who could find no seats in the church. The collection amounted to about \$132, quite a sum at the present time and for such poor people as compose this congregation. A German day-school is taught by an able teacher in the basement of the building, and a singing society of thirty or forty members has been formed; the church is forty-five by sixty feet and contains on the two floors one hundred eight benches.

"It must be very gratifying to our Missionary Society and the Christian friends who started this work and assisted us so far, to learn that our German brethren in the faith in Pittsburg, who formerly were scattered sheep without a shepherd, are now provided for and have their own church and school where they can worship according to the doctrines and usages of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The congregation, it is true, still has a large debt, and will for a time still need the care and assistance which have so far been given it. I therefore hope that those brethren who have promised me to do something more in their congregations for the poor German Lutherans in America will fulfil their promise very soon.

"In two of my reports formerly printed I noted the receipt of about \$700. The following is a continuation of the contributions—about \$700.

"For the kindness with which I have as a rule been re-

ceived and assisted during my difficult collecting tour I here again most heartily thank my beloved brethren and other friends. May the Lord richly reward them in time and eternity. Amen!

“Respectfully yours,

“C. F. H.”

In a few years the congregation became so large that it was again considered necessary to build a larger church. This was built on a hill not far from the new court-house. Afterward in the period of decay or defection from the Lutheran foundation of faith in many congregations, this congregation joined the Missouri Synod. To this move a part of the congregation was not agreed; a new congregation was formed under the name of the Second Lutheran Church in Pittsburg. Pastor G. A. Wenzel is its present pastor. The other congregation is served by Pastor Müller, and has recently started a new church building which is to cost \$90,000. Both congregations are purely Lutheran in their confession, and they still say:

Den alten Luthers-Glauben
Soll uns Niemand Rauben.

It is to be regretted how far many of the preachers who call themselves Lutheran have gone astray. For this decline we must in great part thank the Lutheran Observer from the time when Dr. Benj. Kurtz was editor of this paper. The Observer of that time regarded the doctrine of the Lord's Supper an adiaphoron, and represented the Lutheran doctrine as antiquated, unreasonable doctrine, believed by but few in America and Europe, and compares it with Mormonism and the “Holly Rollers.” O thou poor Observer! The Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper has been successfully maintained and defended in most recent times by the greatest theologians. If our half-learned preachers, and doctors, too, would only study this doctrine more carefully they must speak with respect of a doctrine which is recognized by believing Lutherans as the “keystone of the glorious edifice of Christian doctrine” in our Church.

In 1838 the English congregation bought a building lot

on Seventh street, not far from Smithfield street. Mr. G. Weyman, who was born in Philadelphia and was formerly a member of Zion's congregation, undertook to build the church almost alone. Besides the large sum which he contributed, he had, when the church was finished, a claim of \$12,000 against it, which the church has gradually paid off. In October, 1840, the church was consecrated; the West Pennsylvania Synod was present, and Prof. S. S. Schmucker preached the consecration sermon. The church was crowded, although the number of members was still small. From that time on the congregation progressed rapidly. Many who had kept aloof because they feared the undertaking might fail now gained confidence and put their hands also to the work. Mr. G. W., who is still among the pilgrims on earth, must be gratified that he can say: "Hitherto the Lord has helped."

This congregation is now making preparations to build a new church, and has bought a lot at a cost of \$20,000. May the Lord add His blessing!

To the account here given by Rev. Heyer himself of his activity from 1817 to 1840 we may add a few remarks and reflections. Of his ability as a pastor and church-worker there would seem to be no doubt whatever; nor of his popularity. Wherever he went, and whatever work he undertook, he was always successful. Among pastors no less than among the congregations he was honored and respected, perhaps the more so because he had spent two years in a German University. In 1828 we find him not only the secretary of the West Pennsylvania Synod, and agent for the Sunday School Union of the Lutheran Church, but also a member of the committee to draft a constitution for a Sunday School Union of the Lutheran Church, Delegate to the Maryland Synod, a director of the Seminary at Gettysburg, and on the editing committee for the Zeitschrift. In 1829 Heyer with Rev. Keller was appointed on a committee to confer with a similar committee of the Reformed Synod concerning means for encouraging the Franklin Institute at Lancaster. (In 1834 when the removal of Pennsylvania College from Gettysburg was talked of, it

was evidently he who suggested its removal to a small town rather than to Lancaster or York, in a letter to the *Observer*, February 4, 1834.) In 1839 he was a member of a committee appointed to examine Dr. Deanne's translation of Josephus. Of his popularity among the congregations we have proof in the number of calls he received to various congregations, and the success with which he labored in a number of them. Where others failed, he knew how to succeed. But he was preëminently a pioneer. There seems to be no indication of any unfitness for settled work except his own restless nature. A congregation might prosper under him, but he was always drawn to new fields where foundations were to be laid or relaid.

This period of Father Heyer's life falls into an interesting time in the history of the Lutheran Church. The year 1817 marks the beginning of a movement back towards strict Lutheranism. In America the progress was slow and at first seemed retrogressive rather than progressive. Two names may be mentioned as those of leaders: Dr. S. S. Schmucker and Dr. Benjamin Kurtz. The former, having studied at Princeton, was perhaps more Reformed than Lutheran, and more Unionistic than anything else. His aim was to bring about a general union of Protestant Churches, and he became the father of the Evangelical Alliance. Of Dr. Kurtz Father Heyer has spoken above enough to indicate his position, as well as his influence as editor of the *Lutheran Observer*. In spite of these leaders a more conservative tendency was growing, which finally culminated in the formation of the General Council in 1866. Father Heyer fell under the conservative influence, in spite of the fact that from his active life he would seem to have had little time for study and investigation. He started with lax views and practices. In 1820 it was he who held perhaps the first revival meeting in a Lutheran Church of which there is a published record. He himself sent the following account to the "*Religious Remembrancer*," from which it was quoted twenty-one years later by the *Lutheran Observer*:

Cumberland, Jan. 22, 1820.

Mr. Editor: Having witnessed the good effects which result from reading the account of revivals of religion, I am induced to communicate the following statement of facts, which, if you think proper, may be published in the Remembrancer: On the second Thursday in June, 1819, it pleased the Lord to pour out His Spirit upon some of the catechumens. It was a day long to be remembered with gratitude and praise. From this time the most of my young people paid the greatest attention to religious instruction. The awakening became more general among them. Thirty-seven made a public confession of religion and were admitted to the Lord's Table on the first Sabbath in July. In the morning when the hand of brotherly fellowship and love was extended unto them, I preached from Luke 8: 4-15. All present were moved; many allowed they had never witnessed a more affecting scene. The Lord was verily in the midst of us. From that time the congregation began to wear quite a different aspect. Our prayer meetings were crowded and solemn. The young men who had been admitted as members of the church formed a praying society among themselves to meet on Saturday evenings. A Sabbath School was commenced, which numbers 130 scholars; a tract society has also been formed among the young. Since the second Sunday in June the revival has continued and spread. On the first Sunday in this month twenty-four new members were added to the church. From fifteen to twenty have since expressed their desire to be admitted; several others appear under serious impressions, but are not yet willing to yield. It is remarkable that the arrows of the Almighty were aimed at some of the most wicked characters in this place. They now rejoice that the Lord has snatched them as brands from the burning. Examples might be mentioned, but not desiring to be tedious, let it suffice to say that the change among the old and young has been great and visible. The Lord grant that we may be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. Not unto us, O Lord, but unto Thy Name be all the praise. It is by Thy grace that

we are what we are, and all the glory and the praise belong to Thee. Amen!

F. Heyer.

The spirit of revivalism was almost universal in those days, and it is said that it affected even the Roman Catholic congregations in some parts of the country. But the above account has no suggestion of the objectionable features which afterward became prominent in the controversy as to New Measures.* In 1834 Dr. S. S. Schmucker prepared for the students at Gettysburg the lectures on Homiletics in which he speaks of such "Seasons of Religious Revival." "If it pleases God to bestow a special blessing on your labors, and this you will have reason to expect, if you have by special efforts sought it in the proper way, you will have what is termed a revival of religion." For a full discussion of the subject he refers to his lectures on Pastoral Theology and to Edwards, On Revivals. He warns against preaching at such times on controversial subjects, against haste in offering the consolations of the Gospel, and all abstruse discussions. Naturally a wide range is left for varying methods. Father Heyer's account may be termed that of a religious revival, and yet fall short of even Dr. Schmucker's conception of a revival, for there are no evidences of a special effort on the pastor's part to bring about such a result, nor on the other hand any neglect of catechetical instruction. Later Father Heyer, though perhaps always more lenient than many others toward other churches and un-Lutheran methods of work, stood strongly on the side of those who formed the General Council, and would keep Lutheranism distinct and firm.

Unionistic tendencies and pulpit fellowship were very

*In his report as President of the West Pennsylvania Synod, 1832, Rev. Heyer thus alludes to revivals after mentioning that some have occurred in Lutheran congregations: "You also know that a difference of opinion on the subject of revivals exist among our ministers and members. But since, as Lutheran Christians, we boast of our liberty, and do not feel ourselves bound either by popes or bishops to ancient usages and rites, yet we must be particularly careful to build upon the foundation of our Evangelical Zion, and never to lose sight of the landmarks of our Lutheran Church. In many places and congregations it is easy and most advisable to adhere to the old European Church order and discipline. But it is equally necessary in other places that we in some respects pursue the same measures adopted by other denominations by which we are surrounded, if we wish to maintain the number and efficiency of our congregations. Judge not: let this be our motto." *Lutheran Observer*, 1832, p. 55.

common in those days. Father Heyer speaks of the peculiar conditions in some of his congregations, where there were Union churches and even union church councils. The distinction between the Lutherans and the German Reformed was specially slight in those days, perhaps because of the Prussian Union formed in 1817. But this unionism also he outgrew, so that in 1840 he stood out boldly against a connection of the Lutheran Mission work with the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

It is interesting to note how Father Heyer was during these years prepared for foreign mission work. His natural disposition inclined him to a roving life. His failure to receive the call to the Lehigh county congregation and the appointment as traveling preacher encouraged the inclination within him. His generally rapid success in congregations, and frequent calls still further tended to free him or keep him free from local attachments of a permanent character. His zeal for the work of gathering men into the church added its quota in leading him to accept traveling appointments, taking him away from home for months at a time. His sympathies widened and his courage increased. The knowledge he had gained among the American people he felt fitted him for work among the heathen. The death of his wife (in 1839) still further loosened the bonds binding him to a home. His experiences in crossing what were then practically uncivilized portions of America accustomed him to the habit of enduring all things, and freed him from that dependence on the comforts and luxuries of life which frequently prove a hindrance to the missionary. When a missionary to foreign lands was talked of seriously no man could be found better suited to the work than Father Heyer. To his qualifications—only his age was spoken of as a hindrance—must be added the fact of his large acquaintance in the church and the confidence of the church in him. Few men would have undertaken the work as he did, few could have done so, and very few would have been asked to do so by the church itself. In India, or any other field that might have been chosen, the work must have been pioneer work, and Father Heyer was preëminently the pioneer of the church of those days.





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